

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0489

GENEVA FOR CCD AND CTB DELS

BERN FOR INDIAN OCEAN DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UNGA

SUBJ: UNSSOD PREPCOM IV: INTERIM ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY

FOLLOWING IS USDEL INTERIM ASSESSMENT AFTER TWO AND A
HALF WEEKS OF PREPCOM IV. IT INCLUDES A DESCRIPTION OF
THE CURRENT METHOD AND STAT OF WORK, ESTIMATE OF WHAT
MAY BE ACHIEVED AT THIS SESSION, COMMENT ON SEVERAL KEY
ISSUES WHICH HAVE EMERGED AND AN EVALUATION OF THE MAJOR
PLAYERS. END SUMMARY

2. OBJECTIVE OF PREPCOM IV. THE MAJOR GOAL OF THIS PEN-
ULTIMATE ROUND OF PREPARATORY MEETINGS IS TO DEVELOP FROM
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THE LARGE NUMBER OF GROUP AND NATIONAL PAPERS SUBMITTED TO
THE UN SECRETARIAT AS FAR AS POSSIBLE A SINGLE COMPOSITE
TEXT OF A DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENT TO BE CONSIDERED AND ADOPTED
AT THE SSOD. BECAUSE OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF TEXTS
BEFORE PREPCOM, THERE WAS INITIAL UNCERTAINTY AS TO
PROCEDURE TO BE USED TO DEVELOP A POINT OF FOCUS FOR
FUTURE NEGOTIATING AND DRAFTING EFFORTS. AGREEMENT
HAS BEEN REACHED THAT FIRST TASK OF CURRENT SESSION IS
TO DEVELOP A SINGLE WORKING TEXT, WITH BRACKETS,
UPON WHICH FULL PREPCOM CAN FOCUS. A THREE-TIERED ARRANGE-

MENT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED:

(A) FULL PREPCOM TO CONSIDER MAJOR SECTIONS OF OR FULL DOCUMENT; (B) LARGE OPEN-ENDED DRAFTING BODY OF STATES OR REPRESENTATIVES OF GROUPS OF STATES WHICH HAVE SUBMITTED DOCUMENTS; AND (C) SMALL INITIAL DRAFTING BODIES OF 6-7 MEMBERS REPRESENTING MAJOR GROUPINGS TO PRODUCE WORKING TEXTS ON SECTIONS OF THE DOCUMENT FOR CONSIDERATION BY LARGER DRAFTING GROUP. BOTH US AND FRANCE HAVE STAKED OUT CLAIM TO PARTICIPATE IN EITHER SMALL OR LARGER DRAFTING GROUPS. SO FAR NEITHER FRANCE NOR US HAVE PARTICIPATED IN SMALL DRAFTING GROUPS AND THERE HAS BEEN NO REAL DISCUSSION IN LARGER DRAFTING GROUP. DRAFT SECTIONS RESULTING FROM SMALL DRAFTING GROUPS WILL BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN TENTATIVE AND WITH DIFFERENCES UNRESOLVED, PENDING DRAFTING ON OTHER SECTIONS.

3. THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT DRAFTING IS A REFERENCE AND PRELIMINARY IN NATURE, THAT EVEN AFTER CONSIDERATION BY FULL PREPCOM, NO GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO ANY PORTION OF THE TEXT AT THIS STAGE, AND THAT REVISIONS AND NEW OR ADDITIONAL ELEMENTS CAN STILL BE ADDED UP TO AND THROUGH THE SSOD ITSELF. EVEN SO, WORK HAS PROCEEDED QUITE SLOWLY IN THIS INITIAL WINNOWING PROCESS
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FOR SEVERAL REASONS, INCLUDING THE DIFFERENCES OF EMPHASIS AND VIEWPOINT WITHIN AND AMONG THE REGIONAL GROUPS, AND THE INTEREST OF SEVERAL DELEGATIONS -- PARTICULARLY MEXICO, PAKISTAN AND ROMANIA -- TO ASSURE THAT THEIR VIEWS GET EQUAL HEARING WITH THOSE OF THE THREE MAJOR GROUPINGS (THE WEST, THE EAST AND THE NON-ALIGNED).

4. GENERAL AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED THAT THERE WILL BE A SINGLE FINAL DOCUMENT CONSISTING OF A PREAMBLE, A DECLARATION, A PROGRAM OF ACTION, AND A SECTION ON MACHINERY (ALSO REFERRED TO AS GUIDELINES FOR DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS). DRAFTING WORK SO FAR HAS BEEN ON THE PREAMBLE AND THE DECLARATION, BUT IN REMAINING TWO WEEKS OF PREPCOM IV DRAFTERS ALSO WILL WORK ON THE PROGRAM OF ACTION AND TO EXTENT POSSIBLE ON MACHINERY. THE PROCEDURE ADOPTED HAS BEEN IN THE CASE OF THE DECLARATION TO SUBDIVIDE IT INTO THREE MAIN SECTIONS (RESPECTIVELY ENTITLED FOR WORKING PURPOSES QTE REVIEW AND APPRIASAL UNQTE, QTE GOALS AND PRIORITIES UNQTE, AND QTE PRINCIPLES UNQTE). THE GOAL OF THE PREPCOM CHAIRMAN IS TO COMPLETE ABOUT 80 PERCENT OF A COMPOSITE TEXT BY END OF THIS SESSION ON FEBRUARY 24. THIS WILL BE POSSIBLE ONLY IF THE PACE OF PROGRESS IS SIGNIFICANTLY ACCELERATED. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A BRACKETED, AND POSSIBLY NOT VERY GOOD, TEXT ON THE DECLARATION WILL BE ACHIEVED BY FEBRUARY 24. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE ON RATE OF PROGRESS ON

PROGRAM OF ACTION.

5. ATMOSPHERE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE ATMOSPHERE SO FAR HAS BEEN BUSINESS-LIKE AND NON-CONFRONTATIONIST. NONETHELESS, BELOW THE SURFACE THERE IS CLEAR AWARENESS OF THE SHARP DIFFERENCES AMONG THE GROUPS WITH REGARD TO A NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES. THE NON-ALIGNED ARE CONCERNED THAT THE WEST INTENDS TO DILUTE THEIR PROPOSED TEXTS AND BY EXTENSION TO AVOID AT LEAST SOME OF THE COMMIT-
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MENTS AND OBLIGATIONS WHICH THEY BELIEVE ARE ESSENTIAL FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION. THERE ARE ALSO SIGNS OF DIFFERENCES, OVER SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AND THE PLAY OF PERSONALITIES, WITHIN THE NON-ALIGNED/G-77 CAMP. WE AND OTHER WESTERN PREPCOM MEMBERS HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT A CONSENSUS DOCUMENT MUST BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL, AND CANNOT BE A QTE MESSAGE UNQTE FROM THE DEVELOPING STATES TO THE DEVELOPED ONES. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR THAT THE NON-ALIGNED HAVE AGREED TO THIS. SO FAR DISCUSSION HAS BEEN LARGELY BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE NON-ALIGNED, WITH THE EASTERN BLOC GUARDING ITS INTERESTS BUT NOT TAKING THE LEAD. THE NON-ALIGNED HAVE INCREASINGLY COME TO ACCEPT AS PERHAPS USEFUL TO WORK OF THE PREPCOM THE FACT THAT THE US HAS NOT SPONSORED A DOCUMENT AND IS THEREFORE ABLE TO EXERCISE A FLEXIBLE AND POSSIBLY HELPFUL IN-
FLUENCE.

6. ISSUES. SINCE DRAFTING AND NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN FOCUSED SO FAR ON THE PREAMBLE AND THE INITIAL PART OF THE DECLARATION, A NUMBER OF SUBSTANTIVE CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES (SUCH AS NON-PROLIFERATION) HAVE NOT YET BEEN ADDRESSED. DISCUSSION INSTEAD HAS FOCUSED ON ISSUES RAISED IN THESE FIRST TWO SECTIONS -- E.G. ASSESSMENT OF THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE ARMS RACE AND ITS IMPLI-
CATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. IN GENERAL, THE NON-ALIGNED VIEW THE ARMS RACE IN MORE ALARMIST AND HYPERBOLIC TERMS THAN EITHER THE EAST OR THE WEST, AND BELIEVE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR STOPPING AND THEN REVERSING THIS SITUATION FALLS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE US AND USSR, AND THEIR RESPECTIVE ALLIES. THUS, THE NON-ALIGNED WANT TO HIGHLIGHT NUCLEAR ISSUES WHILE GIVING LOW IF ANY PRIOR-
ITY TO THE IMPLICATIONS OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. THE WEST IN CONTRAST IS SEEKING TO PROMOTE A MORE BALANCED
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APPROACH HIGHLIGHTING THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT, AND INDICATING THAT THE ARMS RACE, WHILE IN PART REACTIVE IN NATURE, ARISES OUT OF GLOBAL AND REGIONAL UNCERTAINTIES AND INSTABILITIES,

INCLUDING THE ARMS BUILD UP AND SECRECY OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.

7. PROGRAM OF ACTION. INITIAL DRAFTING EFFORTS ON THE PROGRAM OF ACTION WILL BEGIN FEB 14. THIS EFFORT WILL BE BOTH MORE IMPORTANT AND MORE DIFFICULT THAN THAT ON THE DECLARATION. EVEN BEFORE ADDRESSING THE DIFFERENCES ON SPECIFIC PRIORITY MEASURES, WILL COME THE TASK OF RECONCILING THE CONCEPTUAL GAP BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND EASTERN LIMITED PROGRAM IDEA AND THE NON-ALIGNED TEXT WHICH INCLUDES IN A CONFUSED AND UNDIRECTED FASHION EVERYTHING FROM THE CTB TO GCD. THE US STATEMENT ON SSOD II AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO A LIMITED AND REALISTIC PROGRAM OF ACTION HAS HELPED IN STARTING A RETHINKING ON THE PART OF THE NON-ALIGNED REGARDING A MORE LIMITED INITIAL PROGRAM OF ACTION. INDIA HAD ALREADY BEGUN TO MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION.

8. ANY PROGRAM OF ACTION ADOPTED WILL HOWEVER HAVE TO INCLUDE UNDERTAKINGS TO MOVE WHEN POSSIBLE BEYOND NEXT STEPS, EVEN IN A LIMITED PERIOD. AS TO SPECIFICS OF A LIMITED PROGRAM, IF THERE IS TO BE ANY RESOLUTION OF EXISTING DIFFERENCES, IT WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE BY GENERALIZING THE DESCRIPTION OF MEASURES TO BE PURSUED. WHETHER THIS WILL BE POSSIBLE IN MANY CASES PRIOR TO THE SSOD ITSELF REMAIN VERY UNCERTAIN. FOR EXAMPLE, USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS REMAIN A VISCERAL ISSUE TO MANY, AS DOES THE DISARMAMENT/DEVELOPMENT LINK QUESTION. IT MIGHT ALSO BE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THEY INTEND TO PRESS FOR INCLUSION IN THE PROGRAM OF ACTION A PROHIBITION ON PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF QTE NEUTRON UNQTE WEAPONS. ARMS TRANSFER RESTRAINTS REMAINS A NASTY COSE WORD TO MOST OF THE NON-ALIGNED, BUT WE CONFIDENTIAL

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WILL CONTINUE TO WORK ON THIS.

9. MACHINERY. FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT MACHINERY IS CLEARLY ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND DIFFICULT AREAS LYING AHEAD. WHILE WE DO NOT EXPECT DRAFTING OR NEGOTIATING ON THIS SECTION WILL GET VERY FAR AT THE PRESENT SESSION, A NUMBER OF MAJOR DELEGATIONS HAVE ALREADY PUT FORWARD THEIR VIEWS. MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN (BARTON) GROUP EXCEPT THE US AND FRANCE ARE CONSIDERING SPONSORSHIP OF A WESTERN PAPER ON MACHINERY ISSUES TO BE TABLED BY FEBRUARY 15.

10. SEVERAL DISCRETE MACHINERY ISSUES HAVE ALREADY BEEN IDENTIFIED INCLUDING THE FOLLOWING: (A) FOLLOW ON TO SSOD -- WITH VARYING CAVEATS AND CONDITIONS, THE US, MOST OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES, MEXICO AND SWEDEN ARE READY TO SUPPORT ANOTHER SPECIAL SESSION IN 3-5 YEARS. SOME NON-ALIGNED ARE ALSO INCLINING TOWARD SUPPORT.

THE SOVIETS ON THE OTHER HAND FAVOR A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC) BUT PROBABLY SEE INEVITABILITY OF AN SSOD DECISION FOR A SECOND SPECIAL SESSION OVER WDC. (B) THE CCD -- THE NON-ALIGNED WANT A NUMBER OF REFORMS INCLUDING RECONSIDERATION OF ITS PRESENT STRUCTURES (I.E., CO-CHAIRMANSHIP, MEMBERSHIP), OBSERVER STATUS FOR NON-CCD MEMBERS, OPEN PLENARY MEETINGS; THE WEST (EXCEPT FOR US AND FRANCE) ARE CONSIDERING A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS INCLUDING LIMITED ENLARGEMENT, BUT ARE SPLIT OVER WHETHER TO PROPOSE ROTATION. THERE IS NO SUPPORT AMONG OUR ALLIES FOR THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP, BUT VIEWS ARE TENTATIVE OR UNCLEAR AS TO WHAT MIGHT REPLACE IT; THE SOVIETS IN GENERAL WANT TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO BUT RECOGNIZE THE GROWING PRESSURE FOR CHANGE; (C) ROLE OF THE UN -- INDIA HAS PROPOSED A NEW UN CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMITTEE OF LIMITED (ECOSOC) SIZE, DESCRIBED AS UNRELATED TO AND COMPLETELY SEPARATE FROM THE CCD, TO DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF DISARMAMENT. THIS PROPOSAL IS LIKELY TO GET STRONG NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT. WE WILL HAVE TO ASSESS CAREFULLY ITS IMPLICATIONS FROM STANDPOINT OF ITS IMPACT ON INDIAN DISARMAMENT POLICY, PROLIFERATION OF UN BODIES AND FOR THE CCD; (D) THERE IS ALSO STRONG NON-ALIGNED PRESSURE TO FOCUS UNGA FIRST COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES AND TO STRENGTHEN THE ACTIVITIES AND STAFFING OF THE UN CENTER FOR DISARMAMENT, BOTH OF WHICH APPEAR TO BE PRINCIPLE ACCEPTABLE TO WESTERN STATES.

11. MAJOR PLAYERS: (A) NON-ALIGNED GROUP. ALTHOUGH SRI LANKA IS THE OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN, YUGOSLAVIA AND INDIA APPEAR TO BE PLAYING MORE IMPORTANT ROLES IN SHAPING NON-ALIGNED POSITION. BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA ARE PRESUMABLY ACTIVE BEHIND THE SCENES BUT SILENT IN COMMITTEE. MEXICO APPARENTLY HAS SPLIT FROM NON-ALIGNED CONTACT GROUP, INTRODUCED ITS OWN PAPERS, AND VIGOROUSLY PROMOTES ITS OWN IDEAS. DESPITE THIS SPLIT FROM NON ALIGNED, MEXICAN CCD REP GARCIA ROBLES REMAINS MAJOR VOICE PRIMARILY BECAUSE HE HAS GIVEN SO MUCH THOUGHT TO SSOD STRUCTURES AND OBJECTIVES. PAKISTAN ALSO IS SEEKING TO EXERT STRONG INDEPENDENT VOICE, AND ON SOME ISSUES (E.G., NON-PROLIFERATION) IS WORKING WITH YUGOSLAVS. THEIR PRESENTATION, HOWEVER IS MARRED BY PEDANTRY AND EXCESSIVE METICULOUSNESS, SLOWING UP RATHER THAN CONTRIBUTING TO NEGOTIATIONS; (B) SOVIET BLOC HAS PLAYED SECONDARY ROLE SO FAR WAITING TO SEE HOW NEGOTIATIONS ARE SHAPING UP. THEY KNOW THEY ARE A MAJOR FORCE, AND FOR TIME BEING SEEM PREPARED TO LET OTHERS TAKE LEAD IN PRELIMINARY SPARRING AND STRUCTURING AS LONG AS THEIR INTERESTS ARE NOT ADVERSELY AFFECTED. (C) WITHIN WESTERN GROUP, UK, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND NORWAY

ARE PLAYING STRONG ROLES IN PUSHING DRAFTING AND DIS-
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CUSSION EFFORTS FORWARD. JAY (CANADA) IS EXCELLENT CHAIR-
MAN OF BARTON GROUP.FRANCE HAD MAINTAINED GENERAL
RESERVE EXCEPT FOR ITS JANUARY 25 QTE INITIATIVE UNQTE;
FRENCH ACTIVITY WILL LIKELY INCREASE DURING REMAINDER
OF PREPCOM IV SESSION, PARTICULARLY ON MACHINERY QUESTIONS.

12. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED. YOUNG UNQUOTE
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